The products of Aali are simple in the extreme, pots, bowls, water jars and dishes, utensils which have always been used by the people of Bahrain and which still find a ready market though the increased prosperity of the people enables them to buy cheap imported goods. It is not necessary to go to Aali itself to see the products of the potteries for at the Suq al-Araba in Manama on Wednesday mornings and at the Suq al-Khamis market on Thursday mornings the people of Aali bring their goods for sale.

At Aali the photographer will find many subjects for his camera. The potters in their workshops with the sun shining on the damp yellow clay, the symmetrical stacks of jars drying in the sun, the small boys in bright clothes running up and down the steep sides of the tumuli with objects to be baked and finally the removal of the finished articles, all these scenes provide fascinating pictures.

NURA (LIME)

Aali, as well as being the centre of the Bahrain pottery industry, is the principal place where lime is produced. Stone for the purpose is hewn from the ground in many parts of Bahrain, especially near Rifaa, and is taken in lorries or in donkey carts to Aali. Here the blocks of limestone are arranged on layers of wood, usually date palm trunks, and the wood is then fired. Men with large wooden flails stand round the piles of lime-stone and beat it into powder, chanting as they work and timing the singing to the down strokes of the threshers. When the lime becomes fine powder it is sieved and then placed in sacks. The produce of Aali commands a ready sale, for all the white-wash used in Bahrain is made there or in the neighbourhood and with the present building activities the people of the country have their work cut out to supply the local demand.

There is also in Bahrain a lime factory, owned by a member of the Ruling Family, where lime is produced by modern methods.

FISHING

Fish and fish oil are used for many purposes in Bahrain. The former is one of the staple items of food among the poorer classes, it is used for manure in gardens and for feeding cows and donkeys. Fish oil is used for oiling wooden boats to make them seaworthy. The fact that Bahrain cows are fed on fish, together with dates, date stones, lucerne and bran, leads people to expect that the local milk will taste unusual. This is not true despite the reports of journalists, who hear about the fishy diet without tasting the milk and describe its flavour as unpleasant. Milk from Bahrain cows, if they receive a balanced diet, is unusually good and has a higher average fat content than the milk of ordinary English cows. The use of fish oil on the boats along the shore has little to commend itself to visitors, the smell is extremely disagreeable and drives the people who live in houses near the sea to shut all their windows when the boats are being treated.

Almost all the cultivators are Baharna or Hassawis, who are of the Shiite sect, descendants of Baharna who emigrated to Arabia. The Sunni Arabs do not work in the gardens. The people living in the villages which are scattered among the date gardens originally earned their livelihood entirely by working in the gardens; now many of them are employed by the oil company or in Manama. During the date picking season, which in many ways resembles the hop picking season in England, temporary villages of palm branch huts spring up among the date gardens when people from other parts of Bahrain come to pick the crop.

The village people are the aboriginal inhabitants of the country and in the past they suffered much during the many invasions of Bahrain when their homes, gardens and water channels were destroyed and even in times of peace they were regarded as milch cows, whose wealth was extracted by their rulers. But in recent times their position has changed, they are more prosperous than they used to be and are on terms of equality with their neighbours.

BOAT BUILDING

It is claimed by some authorities on Middle Eastern history that the Phoenicians originated in Bahrain and sailed their craft up the Gulf, which then extended much farther northwards than it does today. and following the Euphrates to the point where the river is nearest to the Syrian coast, they landed and settled there. This may or may not be true but there is no doubt that the people of Bahrain have been sailors for at least as many centuries as the pearl industry has been in existence and their stitched boats not only sailed the Persian Gulf but entered the Indian Ocean.

Most of Bahrain's boats were in former days employed as pearlers, and although the Kuwait shipyards built the largest craft it was natural that Bahrain, nearer the Indian source of timber and itself the centre of the pearling industry, should have its own yards. It should also be remembered that Kuwait is a comparatively modern town, having been founded early in the 18th century, before which date it did not attain importance as a harbour for north-east Arabia.

Today most of the boat building is carried on in Muharraq, although there are some yards at the western end of Manama. In former days, before iron nails were obtainable, Arab boats were not nailed but stitched together, with a giant needle and cord as thread, yet these boats of such fragile construction were able to weather the heaviest gales that swept the Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

In recent years launches have been made in greater numbers than sailing boats, so builders have inclined to specialise in the construction of those boats to which engines can best be fitted. For this reason many "jalibuts" have been built, they can be identified by their vertical bow and the straightness of the keel. The origin of this name is doubtful and many suggestions have been made to explain it. Possibly

659 which made the work of counting easier. After numbering the houses a preliminary registration of the names of the 567 occupants with details of age, sex etc., was made. The question of age was a problem as the majority of the people had no idea how old they were, often they asked the clerk to put down what he thought best. People who could read and write, however, especially children, eagerly volunteered 941 information. Occupation, in the case of men, was easily answered, but in some cases husbands described the occupation of their wives as "eating and sleeping". The first investigation took some time to complete.

The particulars which were required included the person's religious sect, also the full names of both men and women. In the first census the names of women had not been recorded. In some of the Arab Sunni villages and in Muharraq, which is predominantly Arab, strong objection was taken to enquiries about the names of women, but the Shia Baharna raised no objections to this question. There was also a certain amount of organised agitation about recording sects, although in the first census nobody had objected to giving this information. Some of the young town Arabs feared that the census might show a higher proportion of Shias than of Sunnis. By dint of talks and explanations, in which His Highness took an active part, public feelings on these matters were allayed.

THE COUNTING. A Friday night when there was a full moon was fixed for the census. Shops in the towns normally close from noon time on Fridays and fishermen and men employed in cutting coral stone in the sea take a day off. In the moonlight it was easier for the counters to find their way about in the narrow lanes in some of the towns and villages and to see the numbers written in red paint on the doors of the houses. The date and time of the census was announced by proclamation some weeks before

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Ruler's house at Sakhir with the exchange by means of a line from Manamah through the Bahrain Petroleum Company's exchange. Telephonic communication now exists over a great part of the islands; from the aerodrome in Muharraq it is possible to talk to steamers lying off Sitra, as a submarine cable was laid by the Bahrain Petroleum Company to the Sitra anchorage, or to distant points on the oil field far down at the south end of the island. 206

At the end of 1355 (1936-37) there were 40 telephone subscribers, and it is expected that during the next year this number will increase to 60. The trunk line to the Bahrain Petroleum Company's Camp was duplicated in order to deal with the increased traffic. The possibility of installing an automatic switchboard (100 lines) is now under consideration. The advantages would be the elimination of operators and the language difficulties and the prevention of listening-in.

SUMMARY OF SEVEN YEARS' WORKING

Year.	*Units Generated.*	*Units Sold.*	*Revenue Rs*	*Connected Load in Kw.*
1349 (1930-31) ...	88,080 ...	47,340 ...	20,750/- ...	102
1350 (1931-32) ...	111,367 ...	65,813 ...	22,486/- ...	46
1351 (1932-33) ...	120,629 ...	79,550 ...	27,463/- ...	23
1352 (1933-34) ...	134,744 ...	83,241 ...	30,987/- ...	9
1353 (1934-35) ...	147,050 ...	100,449 ...	36,797/- ...	16
1354 (1935-36) ...	163,751 ...	116,440 ...	43,828/- ...	27
1355 (1936-37) ...	232,320 ...	151,255 ...	60,108/- ...	58

The revenue figures are shown to the nearest rupee.

AGRICULTURE

Until a few years ago agriculture in Bahrain consisted of cultivating dates and lucerne fairly extensively and growing citrus fruit and a few poor vegetables such as onions, tomatoes, radishes, and melons. In 1930 the Government attempted to encourage agriculture by employing an agricultural expert from Iraq, but owing to lack of funds his services were dispensed with before he could make much progress. 241

The encouragement of agriculture presents many difficulties. Bahrain Arabs regard all agricultural work as derogatory; I have never met one who worked in a garden or a date grove. All the cultivators are Shia aboriginals or Hasawis imported from the mainland as labourers. This feeling against working on the land, and also the question of land tenure have, I believe, restricted the increase of agriculture during the last century. There is ample evidence to show that in the past a great deal more land was cultivated than is to-day. The people who do work on the land are intensely conservative and view all methods except their own with dislike and suspicion. 461

Land Tenure. Most of the open cultivatable land, which is along the coast, is claimed by the Ruling Family, who make no use of it themselves, but prevent the Baharna from extending their existing gardens. In the past, Shaikh Sir Isa was in the habit of issuing papers to various of his relations, gifting to them whole districts of Bahrain. These 'hiba' documents, which were often written on scraps of paper, included large areas described as 'sehat,' containing roads, villages, springs, privately owned property as well as open land. The Shaikhs who acquired 'hibas' enjoyed feudal rights over the territories which were mentioned in their documents, and in the past they were allowed to make what they could out of them by independent taxation of the people living in the villages, by employing forced labour and by using open land as grazing grounds for the animals which they used to own before the days of motor cars. When the 'hiba' system began, long before the introduction of artesian wells, the possibility of increased cultivation was not visualised, but now the holders of 'hibas' 471 643 423

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

are chairs, tables, window curtains, often framed pictures and photographs, and usually a gramophone; in the houses of the wealthier people there is often a wireless set. Coffee shops reflect the change in ways of living. They are important institutions in Bahrain and take the place of clubs or cafes in Europe. Each has its regular clientele, but the popularity of individual coffee shops varies according to fashion. Ten years ago, coffee shops were usually small shops inside the bazaar, furnished with a few rough benches, where little else than coffee could be obtained. To-day, most of the coffee shops are elaborately decorated and illuminated, provided with little tables and chairs, and a gramophone or a wireless set which plays loudly and incessantly, relaying Arabic programmes to the customers. Some of the coffee shops are divided into two parts: in one part only coffee and drinks are served, and in the other part regular meals can be obtained, including Indian and Persian dishes, bread, cakes, and ices in the summer. Most of the proprietors are foreigners—Indians, Persians, and Iraqi, who are more enterprising in these matters than the local people. The bigger coffee shops are now referred to by the public as 'ozels.'

Games. The popularity of games is another recent development during the last ten years. Before this, nobody played games except the men of the Levy Corps, who were made to do so, which was regarded as a peculiarity of the Commanding Officer. To-day, there are half-a-dozen local football teams and several hockey teams, who play against each other or against teams of sailors or Europeans from the Bahrain Petroleum Company. They play well, and are very keen, and every match attracts a large and interested audience from the town. Many of the parents of the young men who play disapprove of hockey and football, which they consider dangerous and unnecessary, chiefly because they did not play themselves when they were young. There is an entire lack of class distinction in these games: the sons of shaikhs play side-by-side with policemen, clerks, and taxi drivers. Although games have improved the physique of those who play them, the use of motor cars instead of horses or donkeys has caused a great many people to become soft and flabby. Sons of wealthy fathers, especially the young members of the Ruling Family, have entirely left off taking any exercise. They use a car to go a few yards; they never walk, and the only occasion on which they ride a horse is during marriage celebration or on public holidays, such as the annual accession celebrations.

Class Changes. The depression in the pearl trade and the recent improvement in the bazaars has caused an upheaval in financial positions, and with it a certain change in the political importance of classes. This change is gradually, though unwillingly, being appreciated by the Ruling Family. In the days when the pearl trade was flourishing, pearl merchants and nakhudas were the monied classes, and their money gave them great power, which they did not scruple to use for their own benefit. To-day, the men who used to be worth lacs of rupees are, in many cases, almost bankrupt, and petty traders, shop-keepers, and men who happen to own property in Manamah, are becoming the monied class. The old powerful pearl merchants were, in many cases, self-made men who started life as divers, but their wealth made them important and, though most of them could neither read or write, they were the people who mattered in Bahrain. Many of these men have lost all their influence because their money has gone. The class which is now becoming prosperous is more progressive, more mixed, and better educated, but as a community it does not hang together because, unlike the case of the pearl industry, its prosperity does not depend upon one trade alone. One of the serious disadvantages of the change is that the pearl industry provided work, during part of the year, for many thousands of men, but the people who are now making money provide little employment for the people. At present, about five thousand divers are working in the oil field. They are making a great deal more money than they would normally make from diving and, besides earning money, they are paying back their debts to the nakhudas by regular monthly instalments, so both parties are satisfied; but this employment is not permanent and, when present construction work at the oil field is finished, there will be a sudden increase in unemployment which will have to be dealt with by the Government.

The Ruling Family. The life and outlook of the members of the Ruling Family, with a few notable exceptions, has changed less than that of any other community. Although there is a great difference between the outlook of the older men and those who have grown up during the last ten years, the attitude of the family as a whole is

still that of feudal chiefs, though the feudal feeling no longer exists among the people of Bahrain. They consider it their right that they should be well provided for financially by the State, and they resent any suggestion that they should add to their incomes by doing work. They are still the biggest landowners in Bahrain, but by draining their property dry, and not spending any money on improvements, their property has deteriorated in value. They regard any real work as degrading, and only accept posts on courts or councils for the sake of obtaining more money, not because it is incumbent on them, as members of the Ruling Family, to occupy public positions. Their attitude in this respect is a contrast to that of the merchant class in Bahrain, who are unusually public minded and who freely give up much of their time to sit on courts and committees and councils.

The Women.

Among the women, too, there have been changes, but they are more gradual than among the men. Every step towards emancipation is firmly resisted by the older female members of the households, but in spite of this there is a definite feeling among the younger women that they should have more freedom. Their ambition, at present, is not to take any part in public matters, but to be able to go out more frequently. They are becoming restive of the restrictions of the purdah system. Some are now educated, and a few have travelled abroad in Syria, Persia, India, and Iraq, and there they have seen the changes which are taking place in the life of the women of those countries. Many who have never been out of Bahrain read newspapers and listen to news on wireless sets, and frequently meet Indian and Syrian women in Bahrain. All this causes them to feel unsettled.

One of the notable recent changes is that nowadays a great many young men only marry one wife, not because they cannot afford to support more wives, but because they prefer monogamy. The younger men are no longer ashamed of mentioning their wives and talking about their families, and many of them take their wives out with them in cars. A few years ago, if a man was seen with a woman in his car, one could be quite sure that she was not his wife. The modern young men look for wives who are educated, and frequently marry Persian or Iraqi girls because they received better education. One of the effects of education among the women in Bahrain is that they learn to keep their houses clean and they appreciate the value of hygiene, which is taught at school. Education also makes them willing to employ qualified doctors, especially at childbirth, when, in the past, they would have been treated by local Arab untrained midwives who are dirty and dangerous, and whose use of the notorious salt method is undoubtedly responsible for an enormous number of casualties among children and pregnant women.

Changes are taking place all over the Gulf, but of the Arab States, Bahrain is changing most rapidly. The most conspicuous visible changes in comparing Bahrain to-day and ten years ago are in the capital, where a person returning to the country would notice the wider streets, better buildings, and a decrease in straw huts, trees, gardens and more vegetation, large shops selling European goods, motor traffic, European dress worn by natives, increasing use of machinery, partly owing to installation of electric power, knowledge of English language, and a far greater interest being taken in outside world affairs.